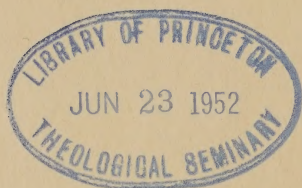


JERUSALEM

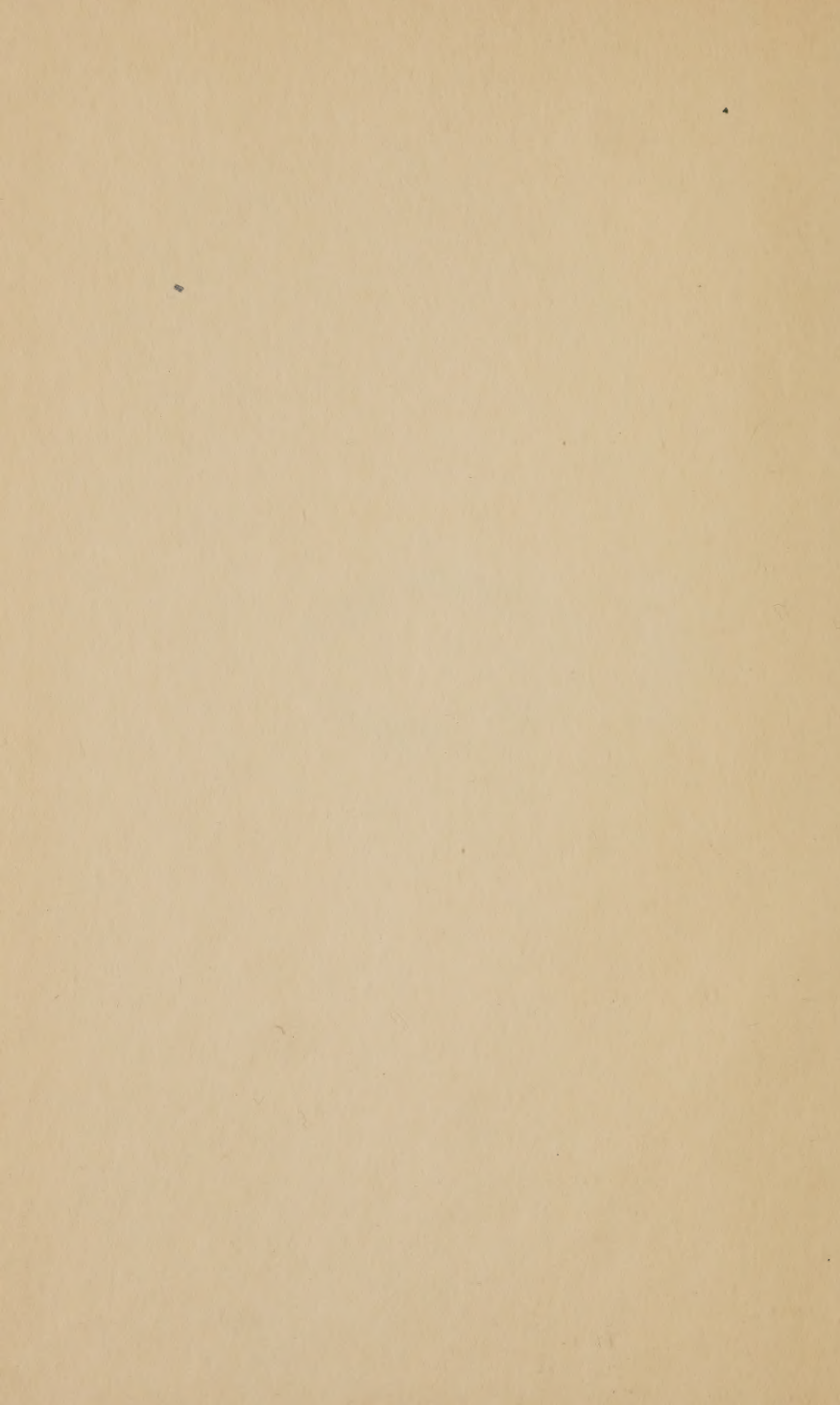
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JERUSALEM

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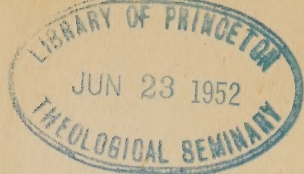
PLATE II

New Jerusalem and Its People



PLATE I

Panoramic View of Jerusalem



JERUSALEM

by

TRUDE WEISS-ROSMARIN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
DANIEL FRISCH



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INTRODUCTION

JERUSALEM is not merely a place, not merely a great historic landmark. It is the sanctuary, the very soul, of that people which inspired three great religions and produced ethical precepts and norms which the world is not yet able to follow entirely.

There are many spots in this world—cities, mountains, rivers, battlefields—which have moved men to great deeds and lofty yearnings. Some of these places are of political, some of religious, others of historical or cultural significance. Jerusalem is all that, and more. In the sweet melodious sound *Ye-ru-sha-la-yim* the Jew finds an echo of millennia; of kings, prophets and priests; of the inner struggle for high ideals; of unexplainable nostalgia; and of battles against invaders who attempted to force upon him their own morals and pagan ideas.

Jerusalem, destroyed by invaders twenty-five hundred years ago, was then rebuilt by the loving hands of the Jewish people. Destroyed again and ruled by invaders and strangers for over 1800 years, it never ceased to be the goal of the Jewish people's longing. During all of this last century Jews have been rebuilding it under dire conditions.

Our psalmists, prophets, sages and poets in all generations have reserved the tenderest and most endearing terms for Jerusalem. The Bible, after the First Dispersion, the sages of the Talmud and the Midrash after the Second, the rabbis and poets of the Middle Ages, the leaders of Zionism, all

spoke of Jerusalem as the very core not only of the Jewish people, but of the universe. There is little mention in our sacred books and prayers of the term Eretz Israel, which is associated with a later period. It is Jerusalem or Zion that is constantly mentioned and that serves as the symbol for the entire country and the Jewish people.

One of our contemporary poets has sung: "A hundred generations I dreamt of you, O Jerusalem, longing to look upon your countenance and to rebuild your ruins."

This dream, passed on from generation to generation, reaches fulfillment in the Jew of today when he first sets foot upon the soil of Jerusalem. No longer a concept etched upon his memory, the City of David becomes a reality from the moment he first breathes its air and feels the mountains of Judea beneath his feet. The love and reverence he has borne for the city become a live, pulsating experience. In the modern Jew a sense of the historic glory and the present grandeur of Jerusalem become fused, inspiring a devotion which can find unhampered creative and constructive expression for the first time in two thousand years. It is the prayer of the Jewish people today that in Jerusalem it may be allowed to live in an atmosphere of peace, for only in peace can our people continue to build a living monument to the religious and moral teachings that have come forth from the Holy City.

DANIEL FRISCH

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PREFACE

WHEN The Philosophical Library invited me to write a “short” book on Jerusalem, I was assailed by many misgivings. My first reaction was that to do justice to the history of the Holy City a writer would have to have at his disposal many times the 10,000 word limit given me. On second thought, however, the project sold itself to me rather persuasively: Jerusalem is front-page news and one of the burning international issues of the day. In these circumstances it is essential and desirable that the problem of the city’s present and future be viewed, intelligently, through the lenses of historical facts and perspective.

In keeping with this aim I have attempted to weave the salient facts about Jerusalem into a story giving the backdrop to the current Internationalization controversy. Although archaeology is one of my major interests, the plan-and-purpose of the book did not make allowances for the inclusion of a chapter on the colorful archaeological record of the Holy City. The same considerations are responsible for other sacrifices of personal interest and predilection, for this book is meant to be a general bird’s eye view and not a scholarly treatise.

As this Preface is being written, the Jerusalem issue remains unsettled, as far as the United Nations are concerned. The State of Israel took its stand when it proclaimed Jerusalem as its capital, after transferring there the seat of the government. “Internationalization” has been proved to be impossible of implementation and Russia’s withdrawal from

the strange alliance of the Cross, Crescent and Sickle which voted for Jerusalem's Internationalization last December is certainly indicative of a new orientation and attitude in the United Nations.

The time is past when territories and populations could be disposed of and shuffled about by extraneous decisions. "Self-determination" is the only authority recognized by modern democracies. Israel's people and Jerusalem's population have charted their future and the destiny of Jerusalem in harmony with the vision of the Prophets of Israel who are revered as the Seers of all mankind. We feel confident that this partly realized vision will be further implemented by the people of Israel, with the aid and cooperation of all peace-loving nations dedicated to the ideals of democracy which grow from the spiritual harvest of Jerusalem.

TRUDE WEISS-ROSMARIN

New York, April 26, 1950



PLATE III
The Wailing Wall



PLATE IV

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre

PRE-BIBLICAL

THE BEGINNINGS OF human settlements on the site where Jerusalem now nestles in the Hills of Judea reach back to the dim and unrecorded past. Many thousands of years before David wrote the first chapter of the story of Jerusalem's Jewish Eternity, cave dwellers hunted buffalos and wild oxen in the forests which covered the steep elevations on which Jesse's son built his citadel and Solomon the Temple. Recent excavations at Jerusalem have yielded artifacts and flints of primitive man preserved in cave-dwellings and graves of the Stone Age (up to about 5000 B.C.E.) and the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (about 3000 to 1500 B.C.E.).

The written record of Jerusalem likewise antedates its Biblical glory. Some four centuries before David made it the capital of the united Hebrew monarchy, Jerusalem figured in the diplomatic correspondence of Pharaoh Amenhotep IV, better known as Akhnaton, who ruled Egypt from 1375-1358 (B.C.E.). Thutmosis the Great had conquered Palestine for Egypt a century earlier. His successors, Amenhotep III and Akhnaton, however, were unable to hold the conquests.

The Tell el-Amarna archive of 350 letters, addressed by Egyptian vassal princes and governors in Palestine and Syria to Amenhotep III and Akhnaton, preserves a graphic record of how Egypt's sovereignty in those parts declined and, finally, was lost. Among those who appealed for reinforcements from the land of the Nile was also one Abdi-Heba,

the Egyptian governor of Jerusalem. One of his missives, found among the clay tablets of the Tell el-Amarna letters, pleads as follows:

Verily, this land of Urusalim,
neither my father nor my mother has
given it to me; the mighty hand of the king
gave it to me . . .
Verily, the king has set his name
upon the land of Jerusalem for ever.
Therefore he cannot abandon
the land of Urusalim.

In another letter, Abdi-Heba writes:

Let the king care for his land.
The land of the king will be lost. All of it
will be taken from me; there is hostility to me . . .
But now
the Habiru are taking
the cities of the king . . .
If there are no archers
this year, then let the king
send a deputy that he may take me
to himself together with my brothers and we
die with the king, our lord.¹

¹ Jack Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past*, p. 100.

II

BIBLICAL

THE HABIRU WHOM Abdi-Heba and other Egyptian governors in Palestine feared so much were none other but the Hebrew tribes who crossed the Jordan into their Promised Land about the year 1400 (B.C.E.). They "took the cities of the king" of Egypt in Canaan with the exception of Jerusalem, whose natural fortifications rather than the military prowess of the Egyptian garrison and its Jebusite inhabitants kept Joshua and his warriors at bay. Indeed, Joshua defeated the coalition of the five Canaanite kings which Adoni-Zedek of Jerusalem mustered on the day when the sun stood still upon Gibeon.² The five kings were put to death and Joshua took possession of the territories of four of them. Adoni-Zedek's Jerusalem, however, remained unconquered. The Jebusites continued to hold it, and the Bible refers to it as "Jebus,"³ in matter of fact fashion, up to the time of David.

The Book of Judges (1:8) records that "the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire." But the same chapter admits that "the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem."⁴ Josephus suggested that the contradiction between verses 8 and 21 of "Judges" may be due to the circumstance that only the

² Joshua, chapter 10.

³ Judges 19:10, a.o.

⁴ Judges 1:21.

lower city was taken, as it was the case later, in the Macabean period, when the Syrians continued to hold the Acra while the Jews held sway in the lower city.

The rugged hills amongst which Jerusalem is situated breed rugged determination. The fortitude with which Jerusalem was held by many defenders throughout the millennia goes to prove that the city succeeded in infusing even its temporary dwellers with that firmness and determination which are of the essence of its eternity. Already when David and his men marched against Jerusalem, the Jebusites defied him: "Except thou take even the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come hither."⁵

"Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion"⁶ and turned it into "the city of David." Moreover, David's men did not rest satisfied with a partial hold on the city. Joab the son of Zeruiah smote the Jebusites decisively, thus earning for himself the position of chief commander of David's army, and forthwith proceeded to fortify the city.⁷

Before David transferred his residence from Hebron to Jerusalem, the Hebrew monarchy had been without a capital. The rivalry among the twelve tribes was strong and the choice of a capital from amongst the cities of the rivals might have wrecked the solidarity that held the "Children of Israel" not overly firmly together. When David made Jerusalem the capital of the Hebrew monarchy he proved himself to be as resourceful on the throne as he was on the battlefield. Jerusalem, which had defied conquest since the days of Joshua, did not belong to any one of the tribes, and thus the element of competition did not interfere with its elevation to the rank of the capital city of the realm. Moreover, by making the stubborn and seemingly invincible enemy fortress his capital, David demonstrated his and his people's strength with powerful proofs.

⁵ II Samuel 5:6.

⁶ II Samuel 5:7.

⁷ I Chronicles 10:4-9.

Jerusalem became "David's City" not only in name but in fact. He beautified and fortified it—and fortified his people for it, so that ever since "the city where David dwelled" has stirred the loyalty and the emotions of Jews everywhere.

After building his own "house" in Jerusalem, David planned to enthrone the city as the sacred shrine of the nation by erecting there a permanent sanctuary for the ark of the Lord. But David was a man of war who had shed much blood. It was not meet that he should build the Temple, the epitomy and symbol of peace. David's son and successor, Solomon, whose name means "the peaceful one," was chosen instead to build the Temple as the central shrine of the nation and as a house of prayer for all men. At the dedication of the Temple Solomon did not merely pray that the supplications offered up by Jews be heard. "Moreover, concerning the stranger that is not of Thy people Israel, when he shall come out of a far country for Thy name's sake . . . hear Thou in heaven Thy dwelling-place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to Thee for. So that all the peoples of the earth may know Thy name, to fear Thee . . ." ⁸ Already in the early stages of Israel's history, Jerusalem, the Jewish capital city, was regarded as the Gate to Heaven for all those who believed in its sanctity. Solomon recognised the "international" role of the Temple without minimizing or detracting from its Jewish national importance.

David's dynasty continued for over four centuries, but the united Hebrew monarchy came to an end upon the ascension to the throne of his grandson, Rehoboam. He refused "to make lighter" the heavy yoke of taxation which all but crushed the people. As a result, the "Ten Tribes," led by Jeroboam, revolted. "What portion have we in David?" they rebelled. "Neither have we an inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents, O Israel! Now see to thine own house, David!" ⁹

⁸ I Kings 8:41 ff.

⁹ I Kings 12:16.

Only the tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained loyal to David's heir. The other "Ten Tribes" followed Jeroboam, who built Shechem as his capital and established idolatrous shrines in Beth-el and Dan so as to wean the people away from Jerusalem.¹⁰

The partition of the Kingdom ushered in the melancholy succession of Jerusalem's many adversities and destructions. Less than five years after the secession of the "Ten Tribes," Sheshonk I (the "Shishak" of the Bible) invaded Palestine. The founder of the Twenty-Second Dynasty of Egypt "came up against Jerusalem and he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all; and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made."¹¹ Sheshonk memorialized his plundering expedition to Palestine in a bas relief on a wall at Karnak, where 156 captives represent the towns which Shishak claimed to have subdued in Palestine.

The internecine war between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, which followed in the wake of the partition, contributed much to the weakening of both realms and made them easy preys for foreign attackers. Open warfare between the brother kingdoms broke out when Jehoash, king of Israel, went to battle against Amaziah, king of Judah. The forces of Israel prevailed. "And Jehoash king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Jehoash, the son of Ahaziah, at Beth-shemesh, and came to Jerusalem, and broke down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred cubits."¹²

Jerusalem's many vicissitudes—like those of the country as whose "jewel" it towers—were determined in the past, as it is still the case today, by the city's geographic location on the strategic highway connecting the two ruling powers of the ancient Middle East, Mesopotamia and Egypt. The power that held Palestine thus automatically dominated the

¹⁰ I Kings 12:25 ff.

¹¹ I Kings 14:25 ff.

¹² II Kings 14:13.

Middle East, and the battles for this key to supremacy, coveted by both Mesopotamia and Egypt, determined Judah's and Israel's fates, and sealed their final misfortunes.

Sheshonk I's invasion of Palestine and campaign against Jerusalem was the last Egyptian bid for supremacy in the Middle East until Necho's imperialistic attempts three hundred years later. In the meantime, Assyria emerged as the number one power. Shalmaneser III (858-824) made the Kingdoms of Israel tributary. A century later, when Israel rebelled, Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727) inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the kingdom which Jeroboam had founded and deported many of its inhabitants. The final blow came when Sargon II destroyed Samaria (722 B.C.E.) and sent the Ten Tribes into the exile where they became "the Ten Lost Tribes."

Sargon's successor, Sennacherib (the "Sanherib" of the Bible) marched against Jerusalem in 701 (B.C.E.). He besieged the city but could not take it. According to the Biblical chronicler, a plague smote the Assyrian army and the survivors returned in flight to Assyria. Sennacherib's inscriptions present a detailed account of his campaign against Jerusalem. Significantly, it does not state that the city was taken, nor is there any mention of the disaster which overtook the Assyrians before the gates of Jerusalem. The fact that Sennacherib's boastful chronicle glosses over the outcome of his campaign against Jerusalem is regarded as strong evidence for the correctness of the Biblical account of the plague which decimated the Assyrian army. Moreover, the Bible is corroborated by the Greek historian, Herodotus, who stated that Sennacherib's flight from Jerusalem was occasioned by a plague of mice. "The mention of mice may well indicate that it was a plague which struck Sennacherib's army, since mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence."

In 612 (B.C.E.) Nabopolassar of Babylon sacked Nineveh, put an end to the Assyrian empire and supplanted it with

the New Babylonian Empire. The domestic wars in Mesopotamia encouraged Pharaoh Necho to make a try for re-establishing Egyptian supremacy in the Near East. On his lightning march to the North, which carried him as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates, he was opposed by King Josiah of Judah on the plain of Megiddo. But Josiah was killed and his army was beaten. Nebuchadnezzar II met Necho at Carchemish and inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the Egyptian forces which opened for him the way firmly to establish his rule in the vassal states of Syria and Palestine. King Jehoiachin of Judah, Necho's puppet, became tributary to Nebuchadnezzar. But before long he rebelled, against the advice and pleadings of the Prophet Jeremiah. In retribution, the Babylonian army marched against Jerusalem. Jehoiachin surrendered and Nebuchadnezzar "carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths. None remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land. And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylonia . . . and the king of Babylon made Mattaniah his father's brother king in his stead, and changed his name to Zedekiah."¹³ When Zedekiah too rebelled, Nebuchadnezzar returned, destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple, and exiled the Judeans to Babylonia (587 B.C.E.). The Kingdom of Judah was no more and Jerusalem lay in ashes.

And then the decisive miracle of the transformation occurred which turned the Judeans into—JEWS. It happened by the waters of Babylon, where Ezekiel was brought "in the visions of God to Jerusalem" and where his fellow-captives vowed:

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,

Let my right hand forget her cunning.

Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,

¹³ II Kings 24:11 ff.



PLATE V

The Mohammedan Sanctuaries of the Haram-Es-Shariff—
The Site of the Temple



PLATE VI

The Jewish Agency Building



PLATE VII

The Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus

If I remember thee not:
If I set not Jerusalem
Above my chiefest joy.¹⁴

Those who gave this sacred pledge, even as their descendants to this day, kept faith. They did not forget Jerusalem amidst the prosperity and splendor of Babylonia. The exiles remained loyal to their God and His teachings while waiting for the day of deliverance promised by the Prophets. That day came sooner than expected when Cyrus the Persian conquered Babylon in 539 (B.C.E.), established the Persian Empire and issued a Proclamation permitting the Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple.¹⁵ Under the leadership of Zerubabel, the prince, and Joshua, the high priest, about fifty thousand Jews returned to Jerusalem. Although their hands were strengthened by Cyrus, who even returned to them the vessels of the Temple which Nebuchadnezzar had plundered, they made but slow progress in turning the desolation of the destruction into a new beginning. Jerusalem had been levelled to the ground and the mountain of Zion had become the abode of foxes:

How doth the city sit solitary,
That was full of people!
How is she become as a widow!
She that was great among the nations,
And princess among the provinces.
How is she become tributary!
The ways of Zion do mourn,
Because none come to the solemn assembly;
All her gates are desolate . . .¹⁶

¹⁴ Psalms 137:5 f.

¹⁵ Ezra 1:1 ff.

¹⁶ Lamentations, chapter 1.

Under Zerubabel's and Joshua's guidance the pioneers rebuilt the altar and reinstituted the services of sacrifice. They cleared away the ruins of Solomon's destroyed temple and laid the foundations for the new Temple. Before long, however, the people of the land conspired and intrigued against them. As a result, Cyrus and his successor Cambyses retrenched their support of "Zionism." It was only under Darius (522-486), who was strongly in favor of the Jewish cause, that Zerubabel could go on with rebuilding the Temple. It was completed and dedicated in the sixth year of Darius (516 B.C.E.),¹⁷ seventy years after the Destruction.

The progress of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, which was for some two centuries confined to the territory of Jerusalem and its environs, was slow. Both the tempo of the physical restoration and the quality of its spiritual depth were raised when Ezra returned with 1,496 men, besides women and children, from Babylon in 458 (B.C.E.).¹⁸ Together with Nehemiah, who as cup-bearer of Artaxerxes, was sent to Jerusalem in a semi-official capacity, Ezra introduced law and order into the communal and religious affairs of the returned exiles, while effectively raising their security and defense potentials.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ezra 6:15.

¹⁸ On the chronology of Ezra and Nehemiah, see Jack Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past*, p. 200 and note 28 ib.

¹⁹ For the history of this period, see the Biblical books "Ezra" and "Nehemiah."

III

POST-BIBLICAL

PERSIA'S SUN WHICH had risen fast set just as swiftly. In 334 (B.C.E.) Alexander, the Macedonian, surnamed the Great, crossed the Hellespont to carry Greek rule and the Greek spirit into Asia. He defeated the Persians and annexed the territories of their tributaries in the Middle East. By way of Damascus, Tyre and Sidon he marched on Jerusalem. Miraculously the city was spared from destruction.

Upon Alexander's premature death (323 B.C.E.), his eastern empire was divided among his three chief generals, known as Diadochi (Successors). Palestine became the coveted bone of contention of the three of them. At first Ptolemy Soter (323-285), who held the crown of Egypt, scored. He took Jerusalem on a Sabbath and incorporated the Second Jewish Commonwealth into his realm. Jerusalem remained tributary to the Ptolemies until around 198 (B.C.E.) when Antiochus III conquered Judea and made it tributary to Syria, ruled by the Seleucids.

His successor, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, outraged the Jews when he attempted to force them to idolatry and installed a heathen altar in the Temple. The result was the Maccabean Revolt, led by the Hasmonean Mattathias and his five sons. The small band of determined patriots defeated the large and superior armies which Antiochus sent against them. They routed the Syrians, freed Jerusalem, and declared their independence. The rededication of the Temple on the 25th

of Kislev, 165 (B.C.E.), three years to the day of the Sanctuary's desecration, was marked with great joy and festivity. In commemoration of the Maccabean victory and the Temple's rededication, Jews the world over still observe the Festival of Hanukah (Dedication) every year.

Under the Hasmoneans, Judea enlarged its territory and influence. Jerusalem regained its former importance and much of its splendor. But the later Hasmoneans were estranged from their people and entangled in petty and selfish feuds and wars. Jewish independence was lost when Pompey, the Roman general who administered Syria, was appealed to by the warring Hasmonean brothers, Aristobolus II and Hyracanus II, for a decision in their quarrel over the throne. Pompey made the most of the fratricidal war which sapped the strength of Judea. He marched against Jerusalem in 66 (B.C.E.) and besieged the city. Jerusalem was taken three years later and Judea became tributary to Rome. The Romans breached the walls of Jerusalem, plundered the Temple treasures, and inflicted heavy losses upon the Jews. Henceforth, Rome ruled in Judea.

The most spectacular and infamous ruler of Judea by Roman appointment was Herod (37 B.C.E.—4 C.E.). Although he rebuilt the Temple and beautified Jerusalem with many splendid edifices, his memory is not honored by Jews. His mad lust for power, his immoral unscrupulousness and cynical disregard for ethics and morality made him hated and despised.

Herod achieved a large measure of independence from Rome. His weak successors on the other hand encouraged and incited the Roman Procurators to impose more restrictions and heavier tributes upon Judea. Discontent was rife and erupted in frequent rebellions, which were ruthlessly suppressed. Nevertheless the party of the Zealots grew in numbers and influence. When they seemed a formidable menace to Rome, Vespasian marched against Jerusalem and

locked it in a deadly siege. Although the city was defended with matchless devotion and heroism, hunger and thirst finally broke the Judeans. The Roman legions, led by Vespasian's son Titus, took Jerusalem on the Ninth of Ab of the year 70 (C.E.). The Temple was burned and plundered and all that remains of its glory is part of its West Wall. The city was reduced to ashes and her people slain or sold into slavery. As after the First Destruction, Jerusalem again sat solitary. "She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces" had again become tributary.

IV

AFTER THE SECOND DESTRUCTION

THE ROMANS RULED Judea with an iron hand. But Jewish resistance lived on. When Hadrian (117–138) prepared to turn Jerusalem into a heathen shrine and embarked upon a vigorous campaign against the teaching of the Torah, a rebellion broke out (132). Led by Bar-Kochba, who was encouraged by Rabbi Akiba, the patriots scored initial victories. Then, hopelessly outnumbered by the Romans, they were forced to withdraw to the southwest of Jerusalem. They entrenched themselves in Bethar and held the fortress for three years against the onslaught of the Roman legions. When Bethar was taken (135), Jewish resistance was definitively crushed. Half a million Jews perished in the Hadrianic wars and an equal number were carried away to be sold as slaves. Every city, town and village in Judea was levelled to the ground. Jerusalem was renamed Aelia Capitolina and a temple dedicated to Jupiter was built on the site of the Holy Temple. Jerusalem was declared out of bounds to Jews and the decree remained in force up to the time of Eusebius (312). The Romans did everything possible to make the Jews forget Jerusalem and obliterate every Jewish trace from Jerusalem. But the Jews remembered Jerusalem—and Jerusalem continued to call her exiled children.

There is no analogy for the tender passion and unwaver-

ing loyalty with which Jews have loved Jerusalem during the well nigh nineteen centuries of the exile. They yearned for it and mourned for it. They dreamed of it and remembered it morning, noon and night in their prayers:

And to Jerusalem, Thy city, return in mercy,
And dwell therein as Thou has spoken;
Rebuild it soon in our days as an everlasting building,
And speedily set up therein the throne of David.
Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Who rebuildest Jerusalem.

The name of the city was always on the lips of the exiles, in moments of supreme joy and in times of sorrow and tragedy. The hope of "Next year in Jerusalem!" sustained them as they were shunted about from pillar to post and subjected to the most fiendish tortures man's cruelty to man has devised.

On the Ninth of Ab, the anniversary of the Destruction, they fasted and sat down on the earth in the fashion of mourners, rehearsing the scroll of "Lamentations" and the elegies which medieval poets of the Synagogue composed when their hearts burst with the sorrow of their nation's misfortune. And every night they rose for *Hazzot*—the Midnight Services of Mourning for "His" city and "His" sanctuary.

The thought of Jerusalem in ruins shaped the totality of Jewish life, in the Synagogue as well as in the private sphere of the home. In the Synagogue the Jews pleaded:

Gather our exiles from the end of the earth,
And lead us with exaltation unto Zion, Thy City,
And unto Jerusalem, the place of Thy sanctuary
With everlasting joy.

And in their homes, they would leave a part of the wall unfinished as a reminder of the Destruction and the symbol

of their perennial mourning. The bridegroom would put ashes on his head and crush a glass underfoot, to express that in his rejoicing with the bride he was yet "setting Jerusalem above his chiefest joy." The bride, on her part, would forego wearing her most precious piece of jewelry, in manifestation of her sorrow over the Destruction.

As time went by, details of geography became obliterated and unimportant. Jerusalem became synonymous with the Land of Israel and the Land of Israel coextensive with Jerusalem. Yet, the hundreds of chronicles, diaries and letters of Jewish pilgrims to the Holy Land over twelve centuries, and more, stress that their authors experienced the ultimate ecstasy of the Reunion only when they kissed the dust and embraced the stones of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is the heart and the soul of the Land of Israel, even as it is the heart and soul of the Jewish people. It is inextricably interwoven with the past of the nation and its hopes for the future. Jerusalem is not only indissolubly tied to the Land of Israel; it is also fatefully and irrevocably intertwined with Judaism in its totality.

JERUSALEM IN JEWISH LITERATURE

ACCORDING TO THE Sages of the Talmud, Jerusalem is referred to by seventy names in the Bible. Scriptures are replete with soulful and poetic tributes to the beauty of Jerusalem and with stirring visions of her role and mission as the City of God. From Jerusalem, the Prophets hoped, the word of God would spread to all the nations:

And it shall come to pass in the end of days,
That the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established
as the top of the mountains,
And shall be exalted above the hills;
And all the nations shall flow unto it.
And many peoples shall go and say:
'Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,
To the house of the God of Jacob;
And He will teach us of His ways,
And we will walk in His paths.'
For out of Zion shall go forth the law,
And the word of God from Jerusalem.²⁰

In the same vein the Rabbis of the Talmudic era held that "in the future-to-come Jerusalem would be the world capital" while serving as a beacon for the nations of the world who will be guided by its light.

²⁰ Isaiah 2, 2 f.

The Psalmists sang of Jerusalem's glory and the Prophets meditated on her fate as the chosen one of God. They pledged to her eternal fealty and vowed not to rest, even as God does not rest, until her exalted destiny would be consummated:

For Zion's sake will I not hold My peace,
And for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest,
Until her triumph go forth as brightness,
And her salvation as a torch that burneth.
And the nations shall see thy triumph,
And all kings thy glory;
And thou shalt be called by a new name,
Which the mouth of the Lord shall mark out.
Thou shalt also be a crown of beauty in the hand of the Lord,
And a royal diadem in the open hand of thy God.
Thou shalt no more be termed 'Forsaken,'
Neither shall thy land any more be termed 'Desolate';
But thou shalt be called, 'My delight is in her,'
And thy land, 'Espoused';
For the Lord delighteth in thee,
And thy land shall be espoused.
For as a young man espouseth a virgin,
So shall thy sons espouse thee;
And as a bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride,
So shall thy God rejoice over thee.²¹

The Sages of the Talmud entrenched their people's love of Jerusalem by attributing to God's city every conceivable perfection of beauty and goodness. "Ten measures of beauty were given to the world," they said, "of which Jerusalem has nine, while all the rest of the world has but one." They submitted that God "measured all the cities" and found only Jerusalem a fitting place for the Temple. Here, they believed,

²¹ Isaiah 62, 1-5.

JERUSALEM IN JEWISH LITERATURE 19

was the very Gate of Heaven, from where the prayers rose straight to the Divine Presence. And here also was the center of the world, as it were—the axis and the ultimate reason and justification of all things in existence.

Everything about and in Jerusalem seemed to them blessed with perfection. Its air was sweet with perfume and ordinary mishaps did not occur within its gates. The maidens of Jerusalem were famed for beauty and wondrous tales about the wisdom of the children of the city enliven the pages of the Talmud.

Throughout the long centuries of the exile "Jerusalem—the light of the world" illuminated the darkness of Jewish suffering, while the "eternity—signifying Jerusalem" gave pertinence to the insecurity of the Eternal Wanderer.

The medieval Hebrew poets elaborated on the theme of Jerusalem's beauty, while the Cabbalists meditated on the purifying influence of its holiness. In the countries of the "West" they yearned for the "East," to which they turned in prayer to identify themselves with the Eternal City. Indeed, Jerusalem's glory was no more, yet her lovers of many countries and all centuries of the Jewish dispersion crossed oceans and continents to mourn her lost beauty amidst her ruins.

Like Jehudah Halevi, the sweetest singer of the Golden Age of Hebrew literature, they were always on the way to Jerusalem, their hearts' abode, even if they could not embark on the pilgrimage as the great Lover of Zion did, who is said to have died upon reaching the city of his longing and desire. Halevi serenaded Jerusalem with strophes that welled from the hearts of all the loving Mourners of Zion:

Beautiful height! O joy! The whole world's gladness!
O great King's city, mountain blest!
My soul is yearning unto thee—is yearning
From limits of the west.

The torrents heave from depths of mine heart's passion,
At memory of thine olden state,
The glory of thee borne away to exile,
Thy dwelling desolate.

And who shall grant me, on the wings of eagles,
To rise and seek thee through the years,
Until I mingle with thy dust beloved,
The waters of my tears?

I seek thee, though thy King be no more in thee,
Though were the balm hath been of old—
Thy Gilead's balm—be poisonous adders lurking,
Winged scorpions manifold.

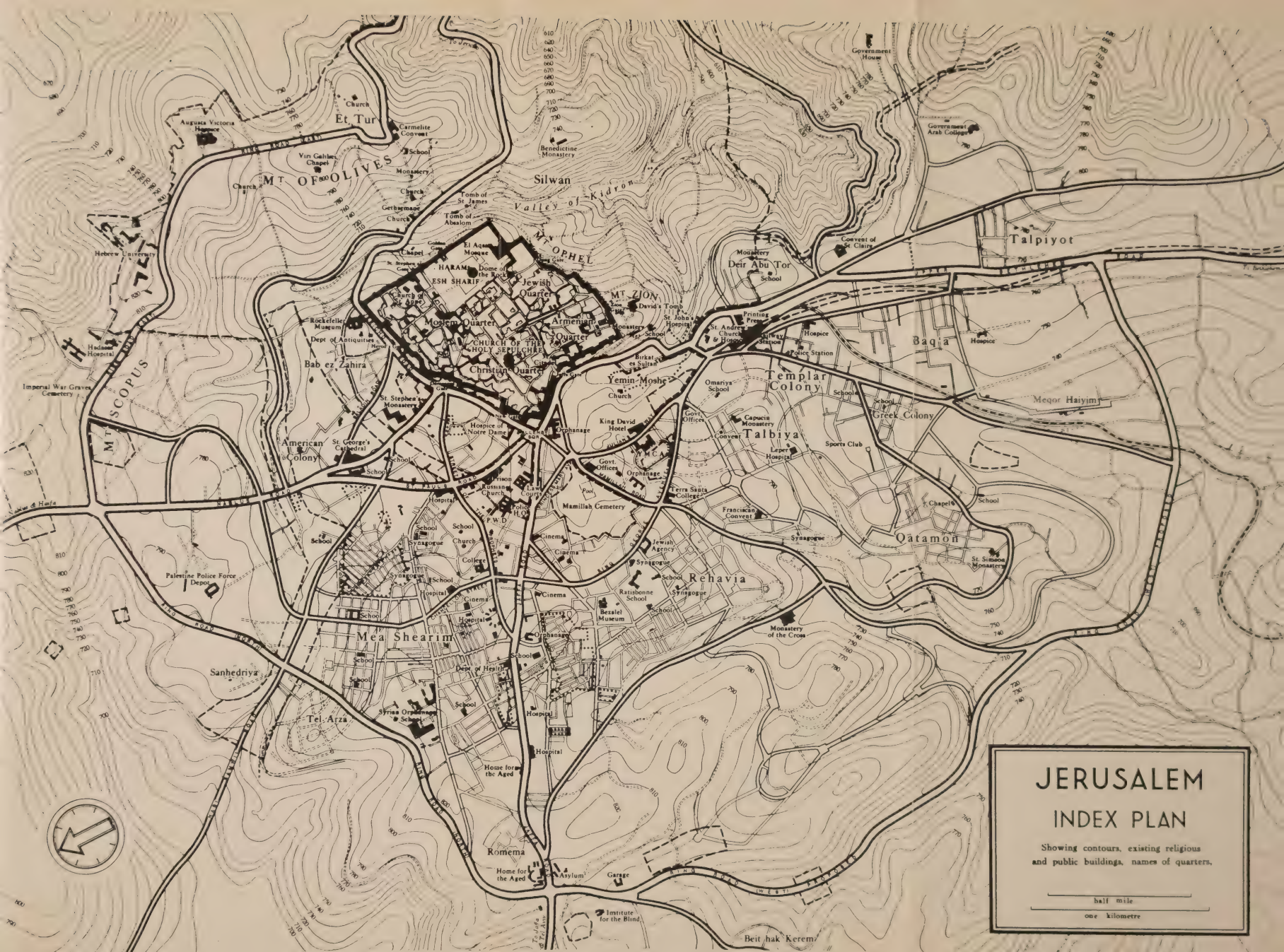
Shall I not to thy very stones be tender?
Shall I not kiss them verily?
Shall not thine earth upon my lips taste sweeter
Than honey unto me? ²¹

In the index to Abraham Yaari's Hebrew anthology of "Letters from Eretz Israel" ²² the entry "Jerusalem" is described as "occurring on practically every page." Jerusalem is referred to not only "on practically every page" of this book but also "on practically every page" of all significant and eternity-fraught Jewish volumes of the past two thousand years. It is the axis of Jewish thought and feeling, the symbol of Jewish hope and aspiration—it is of the woof and warp of Jewish life and existence.

Because Jerusalem is so vitally important in Judaism, the early Jewish mystics held that the heavenly hosts too have *their* Jerusalem. This is how the mystical doctrine of the

²¹ *Selected Poems of Jehudah Halevi*. Translated by Nina Salaman, pp. 157 f.

²² Igroth Eretz Israel.



Jerusalem on-high (*yerushalayim shel ma'alah*) came into being which, together with the veneration of the earthly Jerusalem (*yerushalayim shel mattah*), powerfully stirred also the emotions and the imagination of Christian believers.

VI

JEWISH PILGRIMS AND SETTLERS

ALTHOUGH THE TEMPLE lay in ruins and the sacrificial services were no more, Jews continued to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem and to settle there. They journeyed to the Holy City from all the ends and corners of their many Dispersions, braving trying hardships and perilous dangers. Jewish history and Hebrew literature preserve only the memory of the famous pilgrims to Zion, the learned rabbis and scholars, the distinguished poets and thinkers, the pious mystics and the spectacular and daring Pseudo-Messiahs. But besides the hundreds of pilgrims of name and fame, there were the countless thousands of nameless "Lovers of Jerusalem." They were not articulate lovers, like Judah Halevi, Judah Al-Charisi, or Solomon Alkabetz, but their passion for Zion was no less ardent than that of the men of letters who wove their romance with Jerusalem into abiding works of prose and poetry. These inarticulate "Lovers of Zion" came to Jerusalem—because they could not stay far from the city which ruled their hearts. They were satisfied to suffer in Jerusalem—and suffer they did there—just for the sake of breathing its air.

Among the pilgrims of name and fame who came to Jerusalem and presented the Eternal City with diadems of articulated love and devotion, the most distinguished ones were Sahal ben Matzliah, the 10th century Karaite, Judah Halevi, the Sweet Singer of Zion, Benjamin of Tudela, the

widely travelled chronicler, Nahmanides, the brilliant exegete and Talmudist, Moses Maimonides, like whom there had been none since the first Moses. Then there were the three hundred Rabbis from France and England, Rabbi Judah the Pious, who saw Jerusalem and—died, the devoted Cabalists, among them Joseph Caro (he who compiled the *Shulchan Aruch*, the compendium of Jewish Law that is like a “Set Table”), Moses Cordovero, Isaac Luria, Isaiah Hurwitz, Moses Hayim Luzzatto, and many more. They were followed by the *Hasidim* of the School of Rabbi Israel, known as *Besht*, and of his disciples, Rabbi Nahman of Horodanka, Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav, Rabbi Menahem Mendel of Vitebsk and—who can count and name them all?

But diadems of articulated love and devotion were but the least important portion of the offerings the pilgrims brought. They were suffused with the spirit of Jewish tradition and thus committed to the Talmudic principle that actions speak louder than words. Accordingly, they turned settlers and established schools and synagogues in Jerusalem while not neglecting the practical affairs of daily life. Notwithstanding the hardships they had to endure at the hands of the constantly changing temporal rulers of Jerusalem—Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, Christians, Mamelukes and Turks again^{22a}—these faithful “Guardians of the Wall” maintained Jewish community life throughout the centuries. Time and again, the struggling Jewish community of the Holy City was all but annihilated. The Crusades took a frightful toll, so did the Tartar invasion and the Turkish conquests. But after each and every massacre and destruction—there came new builders. In 1267, when Nahmanides arrived in Jerusalem, the city had altogether two Jewish families—the rest had died or fled during the Tartar invasion of 1244. But around the year 1500, when many of the victims of the Expulsion

^{22a} For the chronology of Jerusalem’s history of medieval vicissitudes, see the “Chronological Table,” page 48.

from Spain (1492) settled in Palestine, Jerusalem boasted an at that time rather impressive Jewish population of more than 1,500.

Jerusalem's growth as a populous Jewish community began just about a century ago. In 1850 the city numbered about 5,700 Jews out of a total population of 18,000. In 1900 the Jewish community of the Holy City had grown to 28,000 out of a total of 45,000. Today, Jerusalem has a Jewish population of well in excess of 100,000.

Until about 30 years ago, virtually the entire Jewish population of Jerusalem lived on the *Halukkah* (lit. "Distribution"). Jews the world over contributed money for the support of the many rabbinical schools and synagogues in the Holy City where students of the Torah, old and young, devoted themselves to the Jewish things eternal. As the influence of modern Zionism grew, many of the youth disowned the *Halukkah* system and packed away the Talmud foliants to till the soil. Nevertheless, Jerusalem is still dotted with rabbinical schools and Talmud academies, where the light of the Torah is kept burning by the dedication of zealous students and those who enable them to study by sending funds for their upkeep. Although the *Halukkah* system gave rise to some undesirable features, its positive contributions are impressive. It welded the students of the Torah and their supporters into a purposive group which achieved its aim by division of labor—one group studying, the other earning the money for the support of the students.

VII

THE HOLY PLACES

JEWES BELIEVE THAT the whole universe is filled with the glory of God and that wherever man lifts up his voice in prayer, he is heard. Strictly speaking, Judaism recognizes no "Holy Places" infused with special sanctity. On the contrary, the Bible and many of the Sages of the Talmud went on record opposing the bestowal of a special degree of holiness upon places prominently associated with the careers of Jewish prophets and heroes. The most telling proof of the Jewish reluctance to delimit universally present holiness to a definite site, is contained in the terse Pentateuchal narrative that Moses "was buried in the valley of the land of Moab over against Beth-Peor; and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."²³ According to the Sages of the Talmud, God kept Moses' final resting place a secret, lest Jews visit his grave to pray to him.

The second commandment, which emancipates Jewish worship from "the graven image," also makes Jewish prayer and its efficacy independent from the material surroundings where it is offered. If Jews yearn to worship at the Wailing Wall it is not because they believe that this site is infused with magical holiness, but because the remnant of the Temple's West Wall is for them a symbol of their people's independence in the past and the tangible promise of the future restoration of their nation and the Torah's sway.

²³ Deuteronomy 34:6.

As far as the historic authenticity of the Holy Places in Jerusalem is concerned, historians are agreed that the Wailing Wall is the only one among the venerated sites which can be proven to have been as what it is revered, namely, the remnant and relic of the First and the Second Temple. Although no archaeologist has ever disputed that repairs have been made on the wall, its tiers of stone which tower above the ground are the remnants of the Second Temple, while its part which is buried in the ground dates back to the First Temple.

Every foot of Palestine earth is holy to the Jew. Although Jerusalem is the holy of holies of the Holy Land, its sacredness is yet not set apart from that of the rest of the country. Jerusalem and the Land of Israel are one and indivisible; they are joined in the oneness of an organic and inseparable unity.

The Jewish claim to Jerusalem, therefore, is not primarily based upon the fact that places sacred to the Jew are located in the city. Jews regard Jerusalem as "holy" because its history and destiny are inseparably entwined with their history and destiny, for everywhere and always they cried, "Lead us back to Jerusalem!" The Jewish connection with Jerusalem is tangibly real and unbroken since the time of David, almost three thousand years ago. It is an iron bond and a connection embracing the totality of life. In Jerusalem, Jewish statehood was achieved and lost, regained and lost again—sought for and fought for again and again, futilely for 1900 years, and successfully attained in our time. In Jerusalem, Jews wrote Jewish history with the red ink of their blood in ages past and added a new chapter written with the same medium and in the same color only yesterday, in the course of the Israel War of Liberation (1948–49). The Jewish attachment to Jerusalem is the natural connection of a national tie as unbreakable as the bond which links parents and children.

Judaism, despite its universalistic outlook and messianic cosmopolitanism, is a national religion. This explains the patriotic determination with which religion-oriented Jews insist that Jerusalem remain what it has always been: the capital of the Jewish people.

The Christian interest in and attachment to Jerusalem is exclusively religious. It is based on the fact that the final chapter in the career of Jesus was enacted and terminated in Jerusalem. The Christian Holy Places are those sites which are believed to have been the scenes of the crucifixion and the burial of the founder of Christianity. We are using the phrase "which are believed to have been" advisedly for there is no absolute certainty that the sites which are claimed to be the Christian Holy Places are indeed deserving of the veneration bestowed upon them. Over three centuries elapsed from the crucifixion and its aftermath before the site of Golgotha and Jesus' grave were determined by Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem, in 325. Sir C. M. Watson rather laconically comments on Macarius' fixing of the sites venerated as Holy Places by Christianity as follows:

"Acting immediately on the order of the emperor (Constantine the Great), Macarius found the three crosses, upon which Jesus Christ and the two thieves had been crucified, Golgotha, where the crosses had been erected, and the tomb in which His body had been laid; and there can be no doubt that the sites so fixed by Macarius in A.D. 325, are the same as those shown at the present day.

"Whether they are the true sites is quite another matter, and those who believe that they are must also accept the fact that their recovery by Macarius was, as stated by contemporary writers, a real miracle; for there is little question but that they had been completely forgotten, and not the smallest mention of them is made by any Christian author during the three centuries that passed from the time of the Crucifixion to the time of Constantine. Those who uphold

the authenticity of the sites maintain that there must have been a tradition as to their position, but of this there is no proof, and, having regard to the history of Jerusalem after its complete destruction, it is not very probable. All that is known for certain is that Macarius was ordered to find the sites, and that he found them.”²⁴

On the Hill of Calvary (Golgotha), fixed by Macarius as the site of the crucifixion and grave of Jesus, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built. This Church, together with the Churches commemorating Jesus’ “stations” on the Via Dolorosa are the principal Christian “Holy Places” in Jerusalem.

The Mohammedan veneration of Jerusalem is due to Mohammed’s great regard for it as the Mother City of the true religions worshipping the Only God. While still in Mecca, Mohammed and his followers turned their faces in the direction of Jerusalem when they offered up their prayers. It was only later, when Mohammed declared that his dispensation had superseded the Jewish and Christian revelations, that he enthroned Mecca as the holiest city of Islam and directed “the true believers” to turn toward the sacred city in Arabia at prayer time.

The Mohammedan Holy Places in Jerusalem are authenticated as far as believing Moslems are concerned by Allah’s Prophet’s visit in a dream to these places. Mohammedanism has it that the Angel Gabriel brought Mohammed, astride on a winged steed, to Jerusalem from where, after praying on the sacred rock of the former Temple, he ascended to heaven. Upon his return, he rode back, in the same night, to Mecca. After Jerusalem’s conquest by the Caliph Omar (in 637), the city was declared to occupy the third rung of the ladder of Islam sacredness, after Mecca and Medina. After Caliph Abd el Malik built (in 691) the Dome of the Rock (sometimes erroneously referred to as the Mosque of Omar)

²⁴ Sir C. M. Watson, *The Story of Jerusalem* (1912), 122 f.

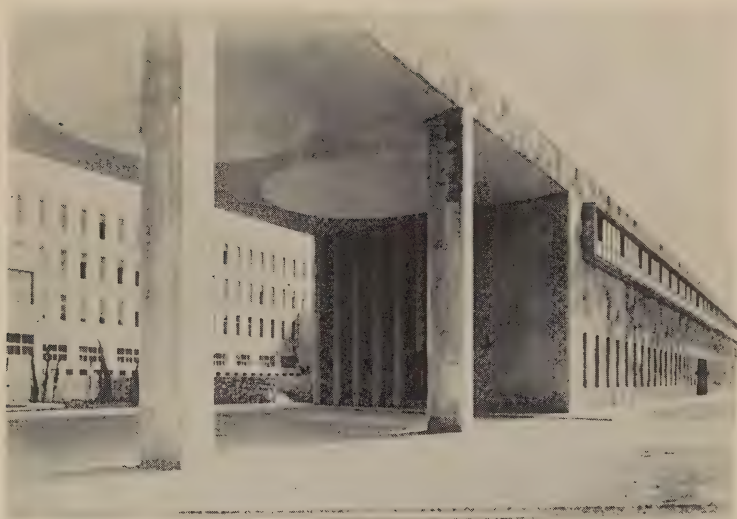


PLATE VIII

Hadassah Medical Center, Jerusalem



PLATE IX

Dr. Chaim Weizmann Taking the Oath of Office
as First President of Israel



PLATE X

Jewish Jerusalem Looked to Its Defenses

and the Mosque of Aksa ("The Distant Mosque"), where Mohammed was said to have prayed, respectively tethered his steed and ascended to heaven, Jerusalem became a center of Islam worship and attracted Mohammedan pilgrims from far and near.

Although political and economic motives entered into the protracted struggle for Jerusalem (and the Holy Land) waged by the knights of Christendom and the defenders of Islam in the Middle Ages, the appeal which stirred the masses was based on the Holy Places in Jerusalem. The eight Crusades, which mobilized large though disorganized and disorderly fighters for the freedom of the Holy Sepulchre and free access to it, were primarily powerful assertions of the Christian fighting spirit, although the ecclesiastic and secular rulers who sent these armies to the Holy Land had other aims in addition to the religious goals. During the Period of the Crusades (1096 to 1271) Jerusalem bore the brunt of the "Holy Wars." Its Jews especially were tried hard as they were massacred by the Christians and persecuted by the Mohammedans. As the city changed masters every few years, the Jewish population suffered greatly. The fact that the Crusaders had stilled their thirst for Jewish blood by massacring tens of thousands of Jews in hundreds of small and large communities along the Rhine, the Moselle, the Danube and their tributaries, did not soften them toward the Jews in Jerusalem. In 1099 the success of the First Crusade was celebrated with the burning of the Jews of Jerusalem in their synagogues. In the Christian "Kingdom of Jerusalem," ruled by Godfrey of Bouillon and his successors, there was no living space for Jews and but limited opportunities for Mohammedans. The "Kingdom of Jerusalem" came to an end with Saladin's conquest of the city (1187). The Third Crusade, led by the coalition of Frederick Barbarossa, Richard the Lionhearted and Philip II of France did not regain Christian possession of Jerusalem

but merely access to the Holy Places. With the Third Crusade the "Golden Age" of the Crusades came to an end. The momentum was spent, but the abortive attempts of five more armies of Christian Knights continued to spell havoc for the Holy Land and the Holy City.

While the problem of the Holy Places affected Jerusalem's history in all periods, it did not assume the incendiary-fraught importance it commanded during the age of the Crusades until the UN Recommendation of the Partition of Palestine (November 29, 1947) brought up anew the prospect, terrifying to Christendom, of the "infidels' rule" over the Christian Holy Places.

VIII

THE NEW CITY

MODERN JERUSALEM comprises the *Old City* and the *New City*. The Old City approximates the Biblical area and occupies about a mile. It is surrounded by the wall which Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566) built in 1541. The wall is 2½ miles long and its eight gates provide thoroughfares to the New City.

The Old City, which is occupied by the Jordan Arab Legion, is the site of 95 per cent of the Holy Places of Christianity, Judaism and Islam. It has four quarters, the Armenian, Christian, Jewish and Arab sections, respectively. The Jewish quarter was surrendered to the Arab Legion on May 28, 1948 so as to save the siege-starved, sick and aged inhabitants from annihilation. There used to be 28 synagogues of hallowed historical associations in the Jewish quarter. Without exception, they were destroyed by the Arabs.

The story of the New City began in 1860 when, thanks to the initiative of the philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore, dwellings for about twenty families were built south of the city walls. The project was financed with a bequest of \$60,000 which Judah Touro, the American-Jewish merchant and philanthropist, had left for Jerusalem charities and of which Montefiore was the executor. Montefiore, who visited Jerusalem six times between 1827 and 1875, implemented the Touro financed project with a large sum of his own.

This is how the quarter *Yemin Moshe* (Moses' Right Hand) named in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore came into being. Building activities increased once the boundary of the city wall had been crossed. While the quarter south of the wall kept growing, a new suburb was developed in the north, *Meah Shearim* (Hundred Gates). Attracted by the better living conditions in the New City, many of the Old City Jews joined the newcomers who settled outside the wall. By 1895, the majority of Jerusalem's Jewish population lived in the New City, in round figures—15,000 out of 28,000. In the next fifty-five years, Jewish Jerusalem reached the 100,000 mark, as the first quarters outside the wall grew apace while others were added in rapid succession. On the eve of the Israel War of Liberation, the Jewish quarter in the Old City numbered only about 2500 souls, mostly Rabbis, students of the Torah, and their families as against 95,000 Jews in the New City.

With a fast growing population of over 100,000, Jerusalem is not only the most important city of Israel, historically and religiously, but is also a vital center of population and strategic strength. Long before the question of the city's status became acute, the various Zionist groups and institutions had made their headquarters there. During the Mandate, organizations and individuals invested large sums of money in Jerusalem, whose new sections are strikingly beautiful and functionally modern.

Jerusalem is the seat of the Chief Rabbinate and the headquarters of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the World Zionist Organization which, together with the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Foundation Fund, occupy the impressive Jewish Agency building. In keeping with its traditional role, Jerusalem is dotted with rabbinical schools and religious institutions. It is the center of Torah in the new state of Israel even as it was the rallying place of Judaism in ages past. But Jerusalem is also the center of modern

secular learning, thanks to the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. Opened in 1925, the Hebrew University is today the leading institution of higher learning and research in the Middle East, whose influence extends far beyond the frontiers of Israel. The Hadassah University Medical Center, a joint project of the Hebrew University and Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, opened its door in 1939, and this model hospital, as well as other health institutions and services maintained in Jerusalem by Hadassah and other groups, have made it the number one city of medical research and training in the entire Middle East.

Because of the sacred and sentimental associations of Jerusalem, Zionist and non-Zionist groups have endowed schools, hospitals, asylums for orphans and the aged in the city. In the 18th century and well into the 19th century it was also customary for Diaspora Jewish groups to maintain synagogues, study centers and hostels for their members who made pilgrimages to and settled in Jerusalem.

Due to Jerusalem's limited water supply its growth and development were necessarily handicapped for a long time. This hindrance was overcome with the construction of a water supply line in 1936, extending over thirty-eight miles from the headwaters of the Yarkon river. Now, a second water supply line bringing water from the maritime plain to Jerusalem is available, affording virtually unlimited possibilities for Jerusalem's population growth and industrial development. Jerusalem is the second largest city of Israel, but in importance it is second to none since it was declared and acclaimed as the capital of the Jewish State on January 23, 1950.

During the Israel War of Independence Jerusalem's isolation from the densely settled parts of the maritime plain almost led to its conquest by attrition. Cut off from the main food supplies center of Israel and deprived of its water supply, which was cut by the Arab forces, Jerusalem's popu-

lation suffered dire hunger and want while writing a new chapter of Jewish heroism when defending and holding the city against the onslaught of the Arab armies. As Jews "do not rely on a miracle," the government of Israel is now engaged upon a long-range program to make Jerusalem self-sufficient and independent from dangerously extended lines of supply and communication. Since 1949 numerous new agricultural settlements have been established in the so-called "Jerusalem Corridor" and it is hoped that before too many years will have elapsed, a chain of Jewish villages will rise along the road leading from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. The determination of Israel's people to overcome the handicap of Jerusalem's outpost position speaks most eloquently from the feat of the construction of the *Kevisb Hagevurah* (the Highway of Heroism), Israel's Burma Road, which was built during the Israel War of Independence when the main road to the maritime plain was held by the Arabs and there was no other alternative for saving Jerusalem but to—build a new road to bring supplies and reinforcements to the city.

IX

JERUSALEM, THE INVINCIBLE

OF ISRAEL'S CITIES, towns and villages Jerusalem has borne the severest brunt of the Arab war against the Jewish State. Already on the morrow of the UN Recommendation of Partition (November 29, 1947), Arab brigands attacked Jews in the streets of Jerusalem, set fire to Jewish property and engaged in wild rioting and looting. Simultaneously, Arab bandits made the roads leading to the city so unsafe that, even while the British were still in Palestine, Jerusalem could only be reached by means of convoys. On the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road there are still scattered the burned-out wreckages of trucks and buses which were ambushed by the Arabs and set afire with their occupants trapped and forced to die in the flames.

From December 1, 1947, to May 14, 1948, when the British left Palestine, the Mandatory Power, although pledged to maintain law and order, did not move a finger to protect the Jews of Jerusalem. On the contrary, the British authorities, while disarming the Jews and interfering with the orderly activities of the Haganah, enabled the Arabs to gain strength so as to terrorize Jewish Jerusalem while preparing for the plotted final coup of violence.

The bombing of the offices of the "Palestine Post," the planted explosion on Ben Yehudah Street, where fifty-two Jews were killed and many more wounded and maimed, the attempt to blow up the Jewish Agency Building, which like-

wise claimed many Jewish lives, are but a few of the Arab excesses committed under the eyes of the British.

Jerusalem's Jews knew the vulnerability of their geographic position and the plots of doom which the Arabs were hatching, with the support of the Mandatory authorities. Jewish Jerusalem was aware of the dangers lurking ahead and that it could not rely on help from the outside. Notwithstanding the hindrances and handicaps imposed by the British, Jerusalem's Jews succeeded in organizing a system of defense which proved sufficiently potent to hold the New City. One must turn to the heroic accounts of Jerusalem's defense in ancient times for parallels and analogies approximating the heroism of its modern defenders. Greybeards and young boys, men and women, Orthodox believers and radical freethinkers were united in the determination to die rather than to give ground before the attacking Arab armies. And 1500 of them did die and an even larger number were wounded. Jewish Jerusalem subsisted for weeks on short rations of bread and even shorter rations of water carefully measured out with the ladle. There was no electricity, and no oil or wood to keep a fire going. Even more calamitous was the lack of ammunition. So as to conceal from the Arabs how badly armed they were, the soldiers of the Haganah used to carry one machine gun from position to position in order to create the impression that all posts were properly armed. Some of the settlements in the Jerusalem area were overwhelmed after stubborn and heroic resistance. After an almost unbelievably brave defense, the Old City had to be yielded, too, so as to save its population of aged and sick non-combatants. But *yerushalayim lo naflah*—Jerusalem did not fall! Israel won the Battle of Jerusalem.

During the Arab rioting in Jerusalem prior to the laying down of the Mandate and in the bitter fighting waged in and around Jerusalem after May 14, 1948, the very parties which now profess deep anxiety and worry over the fate

of the Christian "Holy Places" under a Jewish government, did not do a thing to assure the safety of these sanctuaries. If no permanent damage was sustained by the Christian and Mohammedan "Holy Places," it was first and last due to the leadership of the Haganah who, not infrequently in open disregard of Jewish military interests, renounced to press certain advantages which might endanger the Holy Places.

Christian leaders and clergymen have rightly emphasized that the Christian nations which looked on passively while the Battle of Jerusalem was raging, have hardly grounds or a moral justification for pressing now when the "Holy Places" are safe, thanks to Jewish valor, for the separation of Jerusalem from Israel. To quote the Reverend James Parkes: "The argument has been used that the Jews should make the sacrifice of their feelings and surrender Jerusalem 'in response to the concern of millions of Christians for the Holy Places.' Even if we accept that (without propaganda) millions of Christians are both informed and agitated, I think we could only expect Jews to give precisely the answer which we should ourselves give in similar circumstances. Had the millions of Christians, the Churches, and the governments which use this argument, made a serious, even if unsuccessful, attempt to prevent the Battle of Jerusalem or to relieve the Jewish civilians, women and children, when they were on the point of starvation, they would at least have a moral right to put it forward. As it is, they have not."²⁵

Israel has triumphed not merely in the military Battle of Jerusalem, but has also scored the victory in the moral battle in which the Jewish nation was involved when standing guard over the Holy Places of Judaism's daughter religions.

In a memorandum submitted to the United Nations in November 1949, a group of distinguished American Church-

²⁵ James Parkes, *The Story of Jerusalem* (London 1949), p. 37.

men and leaders, composed of Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Dr. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, a.o., testified that "not a single church or mosque has been demolished as the result of Israeli action anywhere in Palestine; not a single cleric or nun has been killed or injured by Israel forces."²⁶

On the other hand, the Committee supplies the following list of religious places which were turned into military bases by the Arabs:

Between May 14 and May 19, 1948, the Arabs seized the following religious sites and converted them into military bases:

May 14—The Convent of St. Claire, belonging to the Sisters of the Clarine Order. Occupied by Arab troops, it became the base for the attack on the Jewish quarter of Talpioth and the Terman colony which had been occupied by the Jews.

May 16—The Armenian Orthodox Cathedral of St. James was occupied by Iraqi troops. The church and the Armenian quarter adjacent were plundered. The protests of the Armenian Patriarch were ignored.

May 17—The Arabs established a mortar position in the Syrian Orthodox Church, Deir Surian, located in the Armenian quarter. From this post the Arabs shelled the Jewish quarter of Yemin Moshe.

May 17—Another mortar position was established in the Greek Orthodox Church of St. George, also in the Armenian quarter.

May 17-18—The French Convent of St. Claire became an Arab machine gun base for new attacks on the Jewish quarter of Talpioth.

May 19—The Armenian Orthodox Cathedral of St. James, which had been occupied on May 16, became

²⁶ A Proposal for An International Curatorship for the Holy Places, p. 43.

the headquarters of the Arab Command in the Old City of Jerusalem.

May 19—The Convent of Notre Dame de France was attacked, seized, plundered, and desecrated by Arab troops. Two days later the Abbé of Notre Dame, Père de l'Ordre de Sion, was killed when the Arabs blew up parts of the building.

May 19—The Arab Legion seized the Greek Orthodox monastery of Mar Elias. This became the base for the attack on the Jewish settlement of Ramat Rahel.

Later the same month the Trappist Monastery of Latrun was occupied by the Arab Legion. The monastery became the principal stronghold and artillery base for action against Jewish forces seeking to lift the siege of Jerusalem.

During this period Arab shelling damaged the following Christian institutions:

May 16—The Abyssinian Cathedral in Jerusalem was hit several times by mortar bombs with serious damage to the building.

May 18—The Arabs shelled the Anglican Cathedral of St. George from their positions in Sheikh Jarrah.

May 19—Arab forces shelled the Ratisbonne Monastery. Three mortar shells hit the French Monastery of the Order of Assumption. Three nuns in the convent and School of St. Jean de l'Apparition were wounded by Arab shell fire.

May 22—The Terra Santa College building, which previously had been placed under the protection of the International Red Cross, was directly hit by the shells of the Arab Legion.

May 24—The Convent of Soeurs Reparatrices was set on fire by Arab shells. Five nuns were saved from the debris by members of the Haganah who later received an official letter of thanks.

May 26—An Orthodox church in the Russian Compound was hit by shells.

Between May 17 and the end of the month the Abyssinian Cathedral was hit eight times, while twenty shells exploded in its courtyard.

The Russian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity was severely damaged. The cupola suffered a direct hit. The eastern wall was penetrated and virtually all windows, window frames, and door frames were destroyed by shells. The interior of the church was also damaged.

The Church of Queen Alexandra the Holy suffered extensive external and internal destruction. Its roof was hit repeatedly and pierced by shells.

The chapel and church library of the St. Sergius building was hit by many shells and mortar bombs. Its walls were pierced and its interior damaged.

The Home for the Aged and the Sick Bay for the Aged in St. Elizabeth building was hit at least a dozen times by incendiary bombs and high explosive shells. Its roof was destroyed and its walls pierced.

The Home for the Aged in St. Benjamin building was badly damaged. Its roof, walls, and gates received more than thirty direct hits from shells and mortar bombs.

The Russian hospital in the building of the Russian ecclesiastical mission, although under Red Cross protection, was hit directly several times. Two nurses were killed, three injured.

The office of the Russian Orthodox Society in Palestine in the St. Sergius building, was hit on many occasions and its roof, ceilings and walls pierced.²⁷

Israel's two victories, the military triumph and the moral-religious triumph, were fittingly observed when, in the sum-

²⁷ A Proposal for the International Curatorship for the Holy Places, pp. 26-28.

mer of 1949, another "Holy Place" was added to Jerusalem's shrines: the grave on the hill where Theodor Herzl's remains were laid to rest after having been brought home from Vienna. The crowds who flock to the hill where the "Father of Zionism" has been joined to the soil he loved so well, do not pray *to* Herzl—their Jewish instinct guides them to distinguish between what is becoming and what is not becoming the honor and memory of a mere mortal. But they meditate at Herzl's sepulchre about the similarity of his vision of "Old-New Land," the Jewish State reborn as a rallying place for the Jews as well as the focal point for a new ethics-oriented mankind, and the dream of the Prophets of Israel, who conceived of their people's role to make Jerusalem, "the City of Peace" (this is the meaning of the name) a "Holy Place" for all men of good will and the capital of the restored Jewish nation.

Jerusalem belongs to the Jewish people by sacred, sanctified and inalienable rights. The Invincible City and the Eternal People are joined in a covenant whose strength will defy any assault.

Jewish victory in The Battle of Jerusalem of 1948 was bought at the cost of blood and sacrifice. Thousands of Jewish defenders of Jerusalem shed their blood for keeping the city *Jewish*. Their heirs will not violate the sacred trust of the fallen heroes.

INTERNATIONALIZATION

THE DETERMINATION OF THE Christian constituency of the United Nations to tear Jerusalem from the living body of the State of Israel and place it, as a *corpus separatum*, under a special UN government, stems from the apprehension that the Christian Holy Places would not be safe under a non-Christian government.

The record of Judaism proves that these Christian fears are not grounded in facts. According to Jewish doctrine, salvation is not restricted to confessors of the Jewish creedal dogmas and to the observers of the Jewish ritual code, but is reserved for "the righteous of all the nations." Religious intolerance is utterly foreign to Judaism, which millennia ago gave mankind the Prophet Malachi who postulated the equality of men as a corollary of the Only God. For, "have we not all one Father? Hath not One God created us? Why, then, do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?"

During the Biblical period, when Judah and Israel were sovereign kingdoms, a long and distinguished line of Prophets concentrated much of their efforts on fighting against and offsetting the undesirable consequences of Jewish religious tolerance, manifest in the introduction of foreign cults into Israel. No doubt, the worship of Baal and Astarte bespeaks the "backsliding" of the Children of Israel,

but it also proves their readiness to acknowledge the legitimate existence of other religions besides their own.

Although Jews and Judaism suffered the most cruel persecutions at the hands of Christendom and Christianity, Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages is singularly free from the type of unequivocal and intolerant claims to the sole possession of the truth and salvation one encounters in the works of Christian theologians, even today. On the contrary, Jewish thinkers and theologians, notably such eminent figures as Judah Halevi and Maimonides, acknowledged the merits of Judaism's daughters, Christianity and Islam, in weaning the pagans from idolatry and teaching them nobler concepts of God and man, even if they did not adhere to the uncompromisingly strict standards of Jewish monotheism.

In the light of Jewish history and on the strength of the record of Judaism, the arguments advanced in justification of the Internationalization of Jerusalem are utterly indefensible. Nevertheless, the Internationalization of Jerusalem was stipulated by the United Nations General Assembly as part of the November 29, 1947 Resolution of the Partition of Palestine and the setting up of independent Arab and Jewish states in the partitioned areas. The UN Resolution recommended the establishment of a special regime "to protect and preserve the unique spiritual and religious interests located in the City." At the same time, the United Nations pledged itself "to ensure that peace and order reign in Jerusalem" and "to promote the security, the well-being and any constructive measures of development for the residents." In order to carry out this program, the United Nations assumed the responsibility to provide military protection for Jerusalem by means of a "special police force of adequate strength, the members of which shall be recruited outside of Palestine."

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, as the accredited representative of the Jewish people, accepted the "Statute of Jerusalem" providing for the Internationalization of the city

on November 29, 1947. Acquiescence in Partition and the Statute of Jerusalem required a painful sacrifice on the part of the Jews. Hallowed Jewish principles and perennial Jewish hopes were renounced for the sake of promoting the cause of peace in Palestine and enabling the United Nations to settle the long-drawn-out and bloody strife between Jewish Palestine and Arab Palestine, the latter backed by Great Britain, the Mandatory Power.

The Jews had a right to expect that in return for the sacrifice entailed in the renunciation of their title to Jerusalem, the United Nations would fulfill to the letter its part of the contract, namely, provide protection for the people of Jerusalem to safeguard their lives and possessions. From December 1, 1948 throughout the long agony of the Battle of Jerusalem the Jews appealed to the United Nations to assume control in the Holy City. The United Nations did not react and abandoned the 100,000 Jews of Jerusalem to their fate. In the words of Israel Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett, "At the time when the United Nations was legally entitled and morally bound to take over the City from the departing Mandatory Administration and to establish its authority there, it resolutely and irrevocably failed to do so. By recurring votes in the General Assembly and in the Trusteeship Council, it refused to shoulder in time the responsibility which it had previously voted to assume."²⁸

Upon realizing that the United Nations was not ready to assume the responsibilities of the Statute for Jerusalem, the State of Israel stepped into the breach. "Left to fight it out or surrender, the Jews fought and won. What they regained was not merely their stake in Jerusalem, but the link between it and the State of Israel. The bond theoretically severed in the counsels of the United Nations was renewed

²⁸ *The Peace of Jerusalem*. Texts of Addresses Presenting the Position of Israel on the Future of Jerusalem, During the Fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1949. Israel Office of Information, pp. 57 f.



PLATE XI

After the Arab-planted Explosion in Ben Yehudah Street



PLATE XII

Defenders of Jewish Jerusalem

under fire between the beleaguered City and the State of Israel rushing to its defense. It was cemented by the blood of 1,490 Jews who fell in Jerusalem alone, whether as civilian residents of the City—men, women and children—or as soldiers of the Army of Israel, recruited in Jerusalem and throughout the State.”²⁹

Because of the failure of the United Nations to “internationalize” Jerusalem when the need was burning and urgent, Israel takes the position that “internationalization” has been proved as impossible of execution. Moreover, Israel contends that it is incongruous to demand that it relinquish the Holy City after it has sacrificed so much to save it from annihilation. Mr. Sharett told the UN General Assembly: “In 1948, when the fate of Jewish Jerusalem literally hung in the balance between life and death, the United Nations could wash its hands of the specific responsibility it had assumed for Jerusalem under the 1947 Resolution; but in the year 1949, after Jewish Jerusalem had been saved and rehabilitated by Israel, the United Nations can come forward and calmly claim its prerogatives under a chapter of the Resolution which it itself deliberately let perish, even though by pressing that claim at this stage it is liable to plunge the City back into the chaos from which it has just emerged.”³⁰

Ninety-five per cent of Jerusalem’s Holy Places are in the Old City which is occupied by the Transjordan Arab Legion. The New City, which has a Jewish population of over 100,000, contains several Christian Churches and institutions but no Holy Places in the strict sense of the word. The Government of Israel, as well as various committees of enlightened Christians, have therefore proposed that so as to provide security and free access to the Holy Places, the United Nations provide for a curatorship or trusteeship over

²⁹ Moshe Sharett in an address before the United Nations, *The Peace of Jerusalem*, p. 7.

³⁰ *The Peace of Jerusalem*, p. 63.

the shrines sacred to Christians, Jews and Mohammedans. In the light of the existing realities, the deliberations of the General Assembly of the UN were utterly unrealistic for the Internationalization of Jewish Jerusalem would in no way solve the problem of the Holy Places. As Mr. Aubrey S. Eban told the UN General Assembly: "The question of the Holy Places can only be examined realistically if there is a clear sense of their geographical distribution. Many speakers in this discussion who have exhorted Israel to accept certain limitations on behalf of the sanctity of the Holy Places seem hardly aware of the subsidiary extent to which the problem of the Holy Places falls within Israel's responsibility at this time.

"The Status Quo, as defined in 1757, designated the following Holy Places: The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Deir al Sulan, the Sanctuary of the Ascension, all in or adjoining the Old City of Jerusalem; the Tomb of Mary outside the walls of the Old City, the Church of the Nativity, the Grotto, and the Shepherd's Fields, all in Bethlehem. By commonly accepted practice the following holy sites have also come to be governed by the same regulations as the Holy Places under the Status Quo: The Haram es Sharif, the Wailing Wall and Rachel's Tomb. Mr. Chairman, does the Committee realize that each and every one of these places falls within the area under the control of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan? This fact, so little emphasized in the course of this debate, emphasizes the illogical nature of any proposal which seeks to deprive Jewish Jerusalem, built within the past eighty years outside the sacred walls, of its independence for the sake of the Holy Places which it does not contain."³¹

Notwithstanding "the illogical nature" of the premises of the Internationalization of Jerusalem, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted, on December 9, 1949, by

³¹ *The Peace of Jerusalem*, pp. 42 f.

38 to 14, with 7 abstentions to wrest Jerusalem from Israel and turn it into an international area as a *corpus separatum* under the administration of the United Nations.

Israel, as well as the Kingdom of Jordan whose army holds possession of the Old City, have rejected the decision and notified the United Nations that they will not cooperate with any commissioner or governing agencies which the Trusteeship Council may appoint to establish its authority over the city.

Taking the position that as the Holy Places are not in Israel territory, the problem has no bearing on Jewish Jerusalem, the Israel Government has taken measures, culminating in the proclamation of Jerusalem as the capital of the Republic of Israel, on January 23, 1950, to strengthen the age-old, hallowed bond between the Land of Israel, the People of Israel, and Jerusalem.

There are facts of character and destiny which cannot be changed by legislation. Jerusalem's place in the Jewish spiritual-religious pattern is such a destiny-fixed and character-determined fact. Jerusalem, the city of the seventy Biblical names and of the thousand ties and links with everything that matters to Jews and goes decisively into the making of Judaism—Jerusalem, the Sanctified City, will *always* remain Jewish, for there will always be Jews ready to lay down their lives for its integrity.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

B.C.E.

- ca. 1500 Egyptians conquer Palestine and appoint governor over Jerusalem.
- ca. 1400 Jerusalem is mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna letters.
- ca. 1000 David conquers Jerusalem and makes it the capital of the united Hebrew Monarchy.
- ca. 950 Solomon dedicates the Temple.
- ca. 933 Division of the Kingdom. Jerusalem becomes the capital of the Kingdom of Judah only.
- ca. 928 Sheshonk I of Egypt plunders Jerusalem and the Temple.
- 701 Babylonians, under Sennacherib, lay unsuccessfully siege to Jerusalem.
- ca. 800 Joash, King of Israel, captures Jerusalem.
- 587 Babylonians, under Nebuchadnezzar, conquer and destroy Jerusalem and the Temple.
- 537 About 50,000 Jews return from Babylonia to Jerusalem under the leadership of Zerubabel.
- 516 Dedication of the Second Temple.
- 458 Ezra arrives with a contingent of Jews from Babylonia in Jerusalem.
- 445 Nehemiah organizes the rebuilding of Jerusalem's wall.
- 331 Alexander the Great in Jerusalem.
- ca. 320 Jerusalem becomes tributary to the Ptolemies.

- 198 Antiochus III conquers Jerusalem and makes it tributary to Syria ruled by the Seleucids.
- 168 Antiochus Epiphanes desecrates the Temple.
- 165 Maccabean victory and rededication of the Temple.
- 63 Pompey establishes Roman rule in Jerusalem.
- 17 Herod renovates the Temple.

C.E.

- 66 Jerusalem rebels against Rome.
- 70 Second Destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.
- 136 Jerusalem is renamed Aelia Capitolina. Jews are banned from the city.
- 325 Macarius fixes the sites of the Christian Holy Places.
- 335 Completion of the Churches of the Holy Sepulchre and of Golgotha.
- 614 Persian conquest of Jerusalem, with the help of Jewish troops.
- 638 Caliph Omar conquers Jerusalem.
- 691 Abd el Malik dedicates the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aksa.
- 969 Egyptian Fatimides establish their rule in Jerusalem.
- 1070 Seljuk Turks conquer Jerusalem.
- 1099 Crusaders conquer Jerusalem.
- ca. 1140 Judah Halevi in Jerusalem.
- 1173 Benjamin of Tudela visits Jerusalem.
- 1187 Saladin conquers Jerusalem and ousts Christians.
- 1190 Jews return to Jerusalem in larger numbers and start new community.
- 1244 Mongolian Tartars capture Jerusalem.
- 1260 Egyptian Mamlucks establish their rule in Jerusalem.
- 1267 Nachmanides in Jerusalem.

- 1516 Turks, under Sultan Suleiman, conquer Jerusalem.
- 1538-41 Suleiman rebuilds the wall of Jerusalem.
- 1701 Rabbi Judah the Pious in Jerusalem. Building of Churvah Synagogue.
- 1831 Pasha Mohammed Ali of Egypt captures Jerusalem.
- 1841 Turkish rule is restored in Jerusalem.
- 1860 Foundation of the *New City*.
- 1892 Jerusalem becomes railroad station.
- 1898 Theodor Herzl visits Jerusalem.
- 1917 The British army under General Allenby conquers Jerusalem.
- 1920 British High Commissioner in Jerusalem—till 1948.
- 1925 Opening of Hebrew University.
- 1947 (November 29) The United Nations recommends internationalization of Jerusalem under the terms of the "Statute for Jerusalem."
- 1948-49 Battle of Jerusalem.
- 1948 (May 28) The Jews of the Old City surrender to the Arab Legion.
- 1949 (December 9) General Assembly of the United Nations adopts resolution recommending the internationalization of Jerusalem.
- 1949 (beginning with December 15) Israel Government offices are being transferred to Jerusalem.
- 1950 (January 23) Knesset, the Parliament of Israel, proclaims Jerusalem as the capital of the Republic of Israel.

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